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1990/12/24

EXCISE

SGNO 12 (STXX) IRA 24/12/90 02:11
(ZC 07:11:20Z (ST))

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M AMEMBASSY BEIJING

10 RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5827
INFO RUEHGZ/AMCONSUL GUANGZHOU PRIORITY 8841

UMJSA/AMCONSUL SHANGHAI PRIORITY 9453

UEHSH/AMCONSUL SHENYANG PRIORITY 6770

EN/AMCONSUL CHENGDU POUCH

UEHHK/AMCONSUL HONG KONG 3192

UEHIN/AIT TAIPEI 3246

Z1: O N F I D E N T I A L BEIJING 40698

Z2: EPARTMENT FOR HA A/S SCHIFTER AND EAP/CM WIEDEMANN

0.12356: DECL:OADR

AGS: PREL, PHUM, CH

OMBINE: COMPLETE

UBJECT: A/S SCHIFTER'S CHINA VISIT -- AN OVERVIEW

EF: SHANGHAI 9859

CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY. ALTHOUGH WE ARE REPORTING
LY SEPTELS ON EACH OF HA ASSISTANT SECRETARY SCHIFTER'S
EETINGS IN BEIJING, WE OFFER BELOW A CONCISE AND
MPRESSIONISTIC OVERVIEW OF HIS GROUNDBREAKING VISIT.

THE MESSAGE WAS PREPARED AFTER HIS DEPARTURE, AND HE HAD
NO OPPORTUNITY TO CLEAR. ASSISTANT SECRETARY SCHIFTER'S
ORDIAL WELCOME BY THE CHINESE REPRESENTED, TACITLY, AN
CKNOWLEDGEMENT THAT HUMAN RIGHTS WAS FOR BETTER OR WORSE

ON THE BILATERAL POLITICAL AGENDA. THAT A DIALOGUE AT
HIS LEVEL TOOK PLACE WAS REMARKABLE GIVEN THE HITHERTO
ONSISTENT CHINESE REFRAIN THAT "BOURGEOIS HUMAN RIGHTS"
REPRESENTED NOTHING MORE THAN A WESTERN PLOT TO SUBVERT

AND OVERTHROW CHINA'S SOCIALIST SYSTEM. SCHIFTER'S
HOSTS WERE CAREFUL TO MAINTAIN A TONE OF CIVILITY AND
EASON, THOUGH THEY YIELDED NO GROUND ON MATTERS OF
PRINCIPLE AND SUBSTANCE. NO ONE CHARGED, PUBLICLY OR

PRIVATLY, THAT SCHIFTER HAD COME TO INTERFERE IN CHINA'S
DOMESTIC AFFAIRS. BUT THE SENSITIVITY DOMESTICALLY OF

IS VISIT WAS UNDERSCORED BY A CALCULATED LOW PROFILE
VEN TO THE BIZARRE DENIAL (BY THE MFA SPOKESMAN) THAT
HUMAN RIGHTS HAD FIGURED IN THE DIALOGUE. A/S SCHIFTER
HAD NO ACCESS TO INCARCERATED PRO-DEMOCRACY ACTIVISTS,
OR DID HE OBTAIN NEW INFORMATION ON THE CONDITION OR
LIKELY FATE OF THOSE IMPRISNED. A SENIOR PUBLIC

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SECURITY MINISTRY OFFICIAL ACCEPTED -- WITHOUT PLUGGING
ANY ACTION -- A LIST OF SOME 150 INDIVIDUALS BELIEVED
INCARCERATED FOR NON-VIOLENT EXPRESSION OF VIEWS,
PRACTICE OF RELIGION, OR PUBLIC ASSEMBLY. WELL-
ATTENDED EMBASSY-HOSTED LUNCHES DURING THE VISIT
AND A RECEPTION AT THE AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE
DEMONSTRATED STRONG WESTERN SOLIDARITY ON HUMAN
RIGHTS ISSUES TO THE CHINESE AND HELPED TO ENSURE
THAT OTHER EMBASSIES IN BEIJING WERE CONVEYING A
MESSAGE CONSISTENT WITH OURS ON HUMAN RIGHTS.
ATTENDEES INCLUDED EC, JAPANESE, AND AUSTRALIAN
AMBASSADORS.

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[REDACTED] IN SUM, A/S
SCHIFTER MANAGED A HIGHLY DELICATE TRIP TO THE PRC
THAT WOULD HAVE SEEMED IMPOSSIBLE ONLY A FEW MONTHS
AGO WITH GREAT FINESSE. THERE WERE NO BREAKTHROUGHS
OTHER THAN THE VISIT ITSELF: BUT IN THE POST-JUNE
1989 CLIMATE THAT REPRESENTS A SIGNIFICANT ADVANCE.
END INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY.

3. DURING TWO DAYS OF CRAM-PACKED SCHEDULING IN
BEIJING DECEMBER 18-19, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF
STATE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMANITARIAN AFFAIRS
RICHARD SCHIFTER, ACCCOMPANIED BY PAP/CM DIRECTOR
KENT WIEDEMANN, MET WITH SENIOR OFFICIALS FROM EIGHT
MINISTERIAL-LEVEL STATE ORGANS: THE MINISTRY OF
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, WHICH "INVITED" HIM AND ORCHESTRATED
THE PROGRAM; THE MINISTRY OF PUBLIC SECURITY; THE
MINISTRY OF JUSTICE; THE SUPREME PEOPLE'S COURT; THE
STATE COUNCIL RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS BUREAU; THE STATE
COUNCIL NATIONALITIES COMMISSION; THE STATE EDUCATION
COMMISSION; AND THE STATE FAMILY PLANNING COMMISSION.
THE AMBASSADOR, THE DCM, THE POLITICAL MINISTER-
COUNSELLOR, AND OTHER EMBASSY OFFICERS ATTENDED
ALL OF THE MEETINGS. IN EACH OF THESE SESSIONS
A/S SCHIFTER HIGHLIGHTED FOR HIS HOSTS THE SPECIFIC
AREAS WHICH HAD GIVEN RISE TO CONCERNS IN THE U.S.,
AND IN THE WEST GENERALLY, ABOUT CHINESE LEGAL AND
SOCIAL PRACTICES IMPINGING UPON AN INDIVIDUAL'S
FREE EXERCISE OF INTERNATIONALLY-ACCEPTED RIGHTS
AND FREEDOMS. NOTING THAT THE PRESIDENT AND THE
SECRETARY HAD RECENTLY UNDERSCORED SUCH SPECIFIC
CONCERNS IN THEIR RESPECTIVE MEETINGS IN WASHINGTON
WITH FOREIGN MINISTER QIAN QICHEN, A/S SCHIFTER
EXPLAINED THAT HE HAD BEEN CHARGED WITH FOLLOWING
UP ON THAT DIALOGUE. HUMAN RIGHTS MATTERS WERE, AS
THE SECRETARY HAD SAID, A CORNERSTONE OF U.S. FOREIGN
POLICY; THEY WERE THUS, INEVITABLY, ALSO ON THE AGENDA
OF U.S.-CHINA BILATERAL RELATIONS.
CHINESE OBJECTIVES:

4. BEIJING'S AGREEMENT TO RECEIVE, AND EVENTUALLY TO
INVITE AND HOST, A/S SCHIFTER WAS UNPRECEDENTED. IT
SIGNIFIES, AT MINIMUM, A 'FACIT'

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT THAT "HUMAN RIGHTS" QUESTIONS ARE NOW
FIRMLY ON THE BILATERAL AGENDA, LIKE IT OR NOT. WE
SUSPECT THAT THE VISIT AND ESPECIALLY THE MANAGEMENT OF
IT WAS ALMOST WHOLLY A FOREIGN MINISTRY OPERATION. [REDACTED]

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AMBASSADOR ZHU QICHEN'S RECOMMENDATION -- BASED ON TWO
EXTENDED EXCHANGES IN WASHINGTON WITH SCHIFTER -- MUST
HAVE PLAYED A KEY PART IN CONVINCING BEIJING'S LEADERSHIP
THAT SUCH A VISIT COULD BE POSITIVE. AND IT IS OUR
STRONG IMPRESSION THAT IT WAS THE MFA AS HOST, WHICH
KNOCKED THE HEADS TOGETHER AND LOBBIED INTENSIVELY TO
GET AS FULL (ALBEIT NOT AS HIGH-LEVEL) A SCHEDULE AS
EVENTUALLY EMERGED.

5. THE VIEW OF CHINESE DIPLOMATIC PROFESSIONALS IS NOT
HARD TO FATHOM: WHY NOT HOST A SCHIFTER VISIT IF CHINA'S
INTERNATIONAL IMAGE, AND ESPECIALLY IN THE U.S. CONGRESS,
WILL PREDICTABLY BE ENHANCED? BETTER TO ANSWER, AND
BLUNT, CRITICISMS FROM ABROAD. THE MFA PROFESSIONALS
MAY HAVE REASONED, THAN TO STICK STUBBORNLY TO THE OLD,
COUNTERPRODUCTIVE APPROACH OF DENYING THE EXISTENCE OF
ANY INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

VISIT MANAGEMENT:

5. THE CHINESE DENIED A/S SCHIFTER'S REQUEST TO VISIT
WITH PERSONS INCARCERATED AT BEIJING'S INFAMOUS
QINCHENG PRISON, DECLARING SIMPLY THAT THIS FACILITY WAS
NOT OPEN TO THE OUTSIDE. PLEADING THE PRESS OF BUSINESS
OWING TO THE FORTHCOMING PARTY SEVENTH PLENUM, THE
CHINESE INDICATED THAT MEETINGS WITH POLITBURO MEMBERS
WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE (THIS EXCUSE AS THEY SAY, ALSO
HAS THE MERIT OF BEING TRUE IN THIS INSTANCE). THE
CHINESE TOLD US [REDACTED] THAT A DECISION

HAD BEEN MADE EARLY ON TO RESTRICT A/S SCHIFTER'S
MEETINGS IN BEIJING TO THE VICE-MINISTERIAL LEVEL: THIS
WAS NOT ONLY THE APPROPRIATE PROTOCOLARY LEVEL (ABOVE
WHICH QUESTIONS WOULD HAVE BEEN POSED DOMESTICALLY), BUT
IT SERVED BEIJING'S "STRONG INTEREST" IN PLAYING THE
VISIT LOW KEY. (NOTE: THIS WAS, OF COURSE, PRECISELY
THE SAME LEVEL THE USG RECEIVED MOFERT VICE MINISTER
GU YONGJIANG IN WASHINGTON THE WEEK BEFORE. END
NOTE.) THE CHINESE TOLD US SUBSEQUENTLY THAT THEY
SIMPLY HAD A DIFFERENCE IN VIEW AND REQUIREMENT: WHILE
THEY COULD GRASP OUR REASONS FOR DESIRING A HIGH-
PROFILE VISIT, WE SHOULD ALSO REALIZE THAT DOMESTIC
SENSITIVITIES DEMANDED THE OPPOSITE.

7. WHATEVER THE INTERNAL PRESSURES AND DESIDERATA,
THE CHINESE PUBLIC HANDLING OF THE VISIT BORDERED ON
THE BIZARRE. A/S SCHIFTER'S ARRIVAL WAS NOTED
BRIEFLY IN PEOPLE'S DAILY (RENMIN RIBAO) AND OTHER
ORGANS WITHOUT ANY MENTION OF HIS TITLE. THE IMPRESSION
WAS LEFT THAT A SENIOR AMERICAN STATE DEPARTMENT
OFFICIAL HAD COME TO DISCUSS AN ARRAY OF UNSPECIFIED
BILATERAL ISSUES. AT THE MFA WEEKLY PRESS BRIEFING
THE DAY AFTER HIS DEPARTURE FROM BEIJING, SPOKESMAN
LI ZHAOXING MANAGED TO LEAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT
HUMAN RIGHTS MATTERS HAD NOT FIGURED IN A/S SCHIFTER'S
TALKS. INTERNALLY, OF COURSE, THE CHINESE WILL
REPLAY FOREIGN PRESS ARTICLES AND CIRCULATE THEIR
MORE CANDID ASSESSMENT OF THE VISIT'S RESULTS. WE
HAVE ENCOURAGED THEM TO GIVE THIS ASSESSMENT A
HIGHLY POSITIVE SPIN.

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3. OTHERWISE, A/S SCHIFTER GOT THE SITTINGS HE HAD REQUESTED, SAVE WITH THE PROCURATURALE, ALTHOUGH THAT LACUNA MAY HAVE BEEN ACCIDENTAL, THE PRODUCT OF SCHEDULING DIFFICULTIES. WE IMAGINE THAT THE EXPLANATION MIGHT BE SIMPLER: A DESIRE TO AVOID AN ENCOUNTER IN WHICH A/S SCHIFTER WOULD HAVE ASKED THE INDICTMENT-ISSUING BODY FOR PARTICULARS OF CASES PENDING AGAINST PERSONS INCARCERATED FOLLOWING THE JUNE 1989 CRACKDOWN.
4. AS IN SHANGHAI, THE CONTENT OF THE DIALOGUE VARIED ACROSS A BROAD SPECTRUM. IN GENERAL, A/S SCHIFTER MET WITH THE SAME INTERLOCUTORS AND DISCUSSED THE SAME GENERAL ISSUES, AS HAS THE EMBASSY OVER THE PAST YEAR OR SO. WHAT WAS NEW WAS THE WILLINGNESS ON THE PART OF THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT TO RECEIVE A SENIOR OFFICIAL RESPONSIBLE EXCLUSIVELY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMANITARIAN AFFAIRS. WHETHER A/S SCHIFTER'S INTERLOCUTORS WERE DISPOSED TO FILIBUSTER OR TO ENGAGE IN SOMETHING AKIN TO REAL GIVE-AND-TAKE, THEY PREDICTABLY DEFENDED VIGOROUSLY THE CHINESE POSITION, CLAIMED WESTERN MISUNDERSTANDING OF CHINESE REALITIES AND INSISTED ON CHINA'S RIGHT TO FORMULATE AND EXECUTE LAWS ACCORDING TO ITS SOCIALIST SYSTEM AND UNIQUE NATIONAL CONDITIONS. IN GENERAL, THE FOREIGN MINISTRY, PUBLIC SECURITY MINISTRY, THE STATE EDUCATION COMMISSION AND THE FAMILY PLANNING COMMISSION PRESENTED THOUGHTFUL AND REASONED EXPOSITIONS, REPLETE WITH LEGAL REFERENCES AND STATISTICS. AT THE OTHER END OF THE SPECTRUM, THE SUPREME PEOPLE'S COURT [REDACTED] BLOW-BY-BLOW LECTURE ON CHINA'S "LEGAL SYSTEM": THE MINISTRY OF JUSTICE OFFICIALS [REDACTED]

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REGALED US WITH PAEANS TO THE GLORIES OF REFORM-THROUGH-LABOR, EVADING A/S SCHIFTER'S BEST EFFORTS TO CUT THROUGH TO THE KEY ISSUES; THE RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS BRIEFER RECALLED -- LENGTHILY -- THE HISTORY OF MISSIONARY AND OTHER FOREIGN INVOLVEMENT IN CHINA, DODGING QUERIES ON THE CURRENT SCENE; AND THE NATIONALITIES COMMISSION OFFICIAL RELATED [REDACTED] THAT HE AND EVERYONE TREASURED THE TIBETANS FOR THEIR LOCAL DRAMA AND OTHER TRADITIONS.

10. THE POSITIVE FEATURE IN ALL THIS (AGAIN, SEE SEPTELS FOR THE DETAILS) WAS SIMPLY THAT CHINESE OFFICIALS ACROSS THE BOARD WERE ENGAGED IN A DISCUSSION -- OR, AT LEAST, OBLIGED TO LISTEN POLITELY TO A PRESENTATION -- OF INTERNATIONAL MORAL NORMS, THE CONTENT OF THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS, THE SPECIFIC AREAS OF CONCERN TO AMERICANS AND OTHER WESTERNERS, AND THE REASONS WHY ALL THIS WAS RELEVANT TO CHINA'S BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH OTHER NATIONS. AT NO TIME DID THE CHINESE CHALLENGE OUR RIGHT TO MAKE SUCH POINTS, EVEN WHEN DELIVERED WITH BLUNT PRECISION BY A/S SCHIFTER; AT NO TIME WAS THERE EVOKED THE SPECTRE OF UNWARRANTED "FOREIGN INTERFERENCE" IN CHINESE INTERNAL AFFAIRS... WITH ULTERIOR MOTIVES." AND WHILE COMMITMENTS WERE PHRASED VAGUELY AT BEST, THERE WAS NO INCLINATION ON THE CHINESE SIDE TO DENY THAT SUCH DIALOGUE, IF "APPROPRIATELY" HANDLED, MIGHT CONTINUE.

11. ANOTHER INDICATOR OF WHAT WE ARE INCLINED TO SEE AS GREATER CHINESE FINESSE (IF NOT GREATER DEDICATION TO HUMAN RIGHTS) WAS THE HANDLING OF THE GE XUN CASE. A/S SCHIFTER HAD MENTIONED IN PASSING HIS, AND THE USG, INTEREST IN THE CASE. (WE HAD MADE KNOWN THIS INTERES

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EXPLICITLY IN ADVANCE OF A/S SCHIFTER'S ARRIVAL AND
HAD BEEN IN CONTACT WITH GE XUN DURING HIS QUILISTIC
STAY IN BEIJING.) IN THE EVENT, THE CHINESE HANDLED
GE FIRMLY BUT NON-CONFRONTATIONALLY, NOT STANDING IN THE
WAY OF HIS DEPARTURE BACK TO THE SERENITY (AND PREDICTABLE
LEGAL SYSTEM) OF TEXAS.
OTHER NUGGETS AND NOTEWORTHY ITEMS

12. PUBLIC SECURITY MINISTRY ASSISTANT MINISTER
WANG JINGRONG, A SUAVE CAREER PROFESSIONAL, ACCEPTED
WITHOUT OBJECTION A/S SCHIFTER'S PREFERRED LIST OF SOME
150 NAMES OF PERSONS BELIEVED INCARCERATED FOR A VARIETY
OF NON-VIOLENT ACTIONS. THIS WAS THE MOST COMPREHENSIVE
SUCH LIST PRESENTED THE CHINESE, AND THE HIGHEST-LEVEL
PRESENTATION MADE IN BEIJING. WE SHOULD BEAR IN MIND,
HOWEVER, THAT ASST MIN WANG MADE NO COMMITMENTS
REGARDING THE LIST, AND WE HAVE HAD NO RESPONSE
WHATSOEVER TO LISTS PREVIOUSLY PRESENTED IN THE U.S. AND
AT THE WORKING LEVEL IN BEIJING. EMBASSY ALSO PROVIDED
HIM WITH A LETTER FROM A/S SCHIFTER REITERATING FIVE
SPECIFIC HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONS RAISED IN THEIR
MEETING.

13. MINISTRY OF JUSTICE OFFICIALS. [REDACTED] 131

[REDACTED] MADE ONE INTRIGUING REVELATION: THERE IS
NOW IN THE DRAFT STAGE A "LAW ON LAWYERS" WHICH WOULD
PROVIDE FOR ACCESS TO LEGAL COUNSEL IMMEDIATELY UPON
BEING PICKED UP BY THE AUTHORITIES. WHILE MOJ FOREIGN
OFFICE DIRECTOR XU WAS CAREFUL TO OBSERVE THAT THE
PROCESS OF DRAFTING AND PASSAGE INTO LAW (VIA NATIONAL
PEOPLE'S CONGRESS) COULD BE LENGTHY, HE ALSO ALLOWED
HIMSELF A "PERSONAL" COMMENT THAT PASSAGE WOULD BE A
GOOD THING. AS A/S SCHIFTER HAD POINTED OUT, EARLY
ACCESS TO COUNSEL BOTH PRECLUDED INVESTIGATIVE ABUSES
SUCH AS TORTURE AND ALLEVIATED CONCERNS ON THE PART OF
FAMILIES ABOUT THE ACCUSED.

14. PERHAPS CARRIED AWAY BY THIS UNEXPECTED AREA OF
PARTIAL AGREEMENT, XU TOLD A/S SCHIFTER THAT SINCE
CHINESE TRIALS WERE LEGALLY "OPEN" IT WAS "OF COURSE"
POSSIBLE FOR OUTSIDERS INCLUDING EMBASSY OFFICERS TO
ATTEND AS OBSERVERS. XU QUICKLY RETREATED FROM THIS,
HOWEVER, DECLARING -- CORRECTLY AS IT HAPPENS -- THAT
SUCH DECISIONS WERE NOT IN THE DOMAIN OF THE MOJ, BUT
WERE UP TO THE DISCRETION OF THE COURTS. (THE COURTS
TYPICALLY DEFINE "OPEN" AS MEANING THAT A FAMILY MEMBER
OR DESIGNATED FRIEND HAVING THE PROPER CREDENTIALS
CAN ATTEND. TRIALS ARE NOT "OPEN" IN THE WESTERN SENSE.)

15. A/S SCHIFTER ELICITED SOME SEEMINGLY SPONTANEOUS,
AND INTRIGUING, MUSINGS ON THE NATURE OF
COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY CRIMES BY MPS ASST MIN WANG AND
BY VICE FOREIGN MINISTER TIAN ZENGPEI. TIAN, EVIDENTLY
FASCINATED BY THE THEORY, WONDERED ABOUT THE LEGAL
CONNECTIONS IN WESTERN PRACTICE BETWEEN EXPRESSION OF A
THOUGHT, COMMISSION OF A (VIOLENT) DEED, AND CONSEQUENCES
(SUCCESSFUL OR NOT) OF THE DEED. ASST MIN WANG DEFENDED
UNRESERVEDLY THE STATE'S RIGHT TO PROSECUTE THOSE WHO
SEEK TO SUBVERT AND OVERTHROW IT, BUT HE TOO SEEMED AT
SOMETHING OF A LOSS IN ATTEMPTING TO EXPLAIN TO A/S
SCHIFTER PRECISELY HOW AN UNARMED, PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATOR
COULD THREATEN A STATE BACKED BY THE ARMY AND THE POLICE.

16. ALTHOUGH STATE FAMILY PLANNING COMMISSION VICE
MINISTER PENG YU GAVE A STRIKINGLY OPEN AND SOPHISTICATED

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BRIEF SHE BROKE NO PARTICULARLY NEW GROUND IN HER PRESENTATION. IT WAS USEFUL, HOWEVER, TO HAVE REITERATED AND ELABORATED THE ADAMANT OFFICIAL POSITION OPPOSING COERCED ABORTION. MADAME PENG (A MEDICAL DOCT PRIOR TO HER MINISTRY CAREER) EXPLAINED THAT OFFENDERS -- THAT IS, STATE CADRES WHO EXCEEDED OR ABUSED THEIR AUTHORITY TO COERCE ABORTIONS -- WERE METED OUT ADDITIONAL COMPULSORY EDUCATION OR TRAINING WHEN SUCH ABUSES CAME TO LIGHT. SHE INSISTED THAT COMPLAINTS HAD LESSENED SIGNIFICANTLY IN RECENT YEARS.

17. THE STATE EDUCATION COMMISSION PRESENTATION WAS SIMILARLY DETAILED, AND SIMILARLY FAMILIAR. A/S SCHIFTER'S INTERLOCUTORS STATED FLATLY THAT CHINESE AUTHORITIES HAD NEVER REFUSED AN EXIT PERMIT TO A CHINESE STUDENT RETURNING FROM THE U.S. OR ELSEWHERE FOR A BRIEF FAMILY VISIT OR VACATION -- NOTWITHSTANDING ACTIVITIES IN WHICH THEY MAY HAVE PARTICIPATED DURING SPRING 1989 OUTSIDE OF CHINA.

CONCLUSION

18. A/S SCHIFTER'S FIRM, BUT NON-CONFRONTATIONAL APPROACH WAS JUST RIGHT FOR THIS DELICATE MISSION. CHINESE MFA OFFICIALS TOLD US THERE WERE VARYING ASSESSMENTS OF THE MEETINGS, BUT OVERALL THEY WERE QUITE PLEASED WITH THE TRIP. WE ENCOURAGED THAT POSITIVE ASSESSMENT. WE WOULD NOT ARGUE THERE WERE BREAKTHROUGHS OTHER THAN THE FACT OF THE VISIT ITSELF. BUT IN THE POST-6/89 CLIMATE IN CHINA, THAT BY ITSELF REPRESENTS A SIGNIFICANT ADVANCE. LILLEY
END OF MESSAGE

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